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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the participation of immigrant women in the Canadian labor market, and focuses on the position of the women who arrived between 1961 and 1971. An introduction defines the two population groups studied; "immigrants," who are persons entering Canada as permanant residents; and "temporary workers," who do not intend to permanently reside in Canada. Statistics are drawn from several sources, including Canada Employment and Immigration Commission data, the Census of Canada for years 1971 and 1976, and the monthly Labor Force Survey. Section A addresses the situation of temporary workers, who are mostly in domestic service, and describes efforts of both the federal and provincial governments to authorize and monitor their employment. Unemployment, occupational distribution, earnings, and education of permanent immigrant women are reviewed in section B. Problems related to labor market integration are discussed in section C; these problems include sex discrimination and the frequent needs for language and job training. In section D, responsibilities of government and of the private sector are contrasted, and services designed to assist in the immigration, adjustment, employment, language training, and citizenship are described. Section E summarizes issues related to labor. Immigrant women's employment, it is noted, has been concentrated at the lower end of the occupational spectrum, lower than that of all working women in Canada. The most pressing concerns are argued to be the promotion of awareness and acceptance of the necessity of bringing women into the economic mainstream, and the commitment of government to assist in this process. Finally, some government measures that have already been taken are enumerated. (Author/KH)

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INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANT/MIGRANT WOMEN INTO THE CANADIAN LABOUR MARKET

National Report of Canada
to the
Working Party on Migration
and the
Working Party on the Role of Women in the Economy

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

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Employment and Immigration Canada
May, 1981

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INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANT/MIGRANT WOMEN INTO THE CANADIAN LABOUR MARKET

INTRODUCTION

Women constitute 49% of the four million newcomers to Canada since the end of World War II. Yet most Canadian studies on labour force experiences of immigrants have tended to focus on males. This has been due largely to the underestimation of labour force contribution of females based on data collection procedures which have categorized as dependents most immigrant women entering Canada. The tabulation of most immigrant women as dependents with only a small proportion as destined to the labour force has led to a lack of detailed information on the status of immigrant women with respect to the labour market.

In reality, the economic contribution of immigrant women has been considerable; their rate of participation exceeds that of participation rates of native born women. This population is an important labour force in the Canadian economy. Despite government focus on developing and strengthening ethnic diversity in Canada, evidence is accumulating that in the multiethnic society, immigrant women are contending with economic as well as social inequality. The term "doubly disadvantaged" is increasingly used to describe the situation of immigrant women; as women, they share in the problems of all women and as immigrants, they share the difficulties entailed in being considered "different" and "outsiders".

As with women's issues in general, the problem of addressing immigrant women's issues is complicated by overlapping government jurisdictions in Canada. For example, employment-related services are provided by both federal and provincial governments; federal employment training is funded by the federal government but operated by the provinces, provincial employment training is both financed and operated by the provincial governments. Increased coordination between these jurisdictions will be an important factor if immigrant women are to improve their labour market status.

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This paper describes immigrant women's participation in the Canadian labour market, with a particular focus on differences between immigrant women and native born Canadians. Issues which require further action to remove the double disadvantages faced by immigrant women are discussed. The policy of the Canadian government is to promote equality for women in both its own public service and the workplace in general and to that end the private sector is encouraged by exhortation and where necessary through law and regulation, to eliminate discriminatory practices. The federal government's commitment to improve the position of all women in the workplace should result in enhanced economic status for immigrant women.

Section A addresses the situation of temporary workers in Canada, in particular domestic service workers. The balance of the paper examines the circumstances of permanent immigrants. Several aspects of the position of immigrant women in the labour market are reviewed in Section B, including unemployment, occupational distribution, earnings and education. In Section C, problems related to labour market integration are discussed and services to immigrants are outlined in Section D. Issues related to immigrant women in the labour market which are of particular concern and steps which are being undertaken or considered to meet them are summarized in the final section of this paper, Section E.

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Definition of Immigrant/Migrant Women

The Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) uses the term immigrant to refer to persons entering Canada as permanent residents. Under the term immigrant are subsumed categories such as independent immigrants, family class immigrants, assisted relatives and refugees. These various categories indicate the criteria by which persons applying for residency in Canada are accepted and under what conditions. The term immigrant has a legal definition which provides a method of coding and categorizing persons who enter Canada with the intention of settling into the country on a permanent basis. Landed immigrants are virtually unrestricted by the laws and regulations of Canada in their labour force activity[1].

Temporary workers are non-immigrants in the sense that they do not intend to permanently reside in Canada. They come to Canada to work only for a determined period of time in a particular occupation. While their numbers are not as large as immigrant admissions and while they do not constitute the majority of non-immigrant admissions, these temporary workers play important roles in our society and our labour force.

A majority of temporary workers are "bonded" to their employers in that their right of residence in Canada is tied to their pre-arranged employment. They do not have legal access to other jobs in the country and if they stop working for the employer that arranged their entry to Canada, they are no longer entitled to remain and may be subject to deportation.

Landed women immigrants are the focus of this paper because of their greater numbers and greater role in the Canadian society and economy. However, temporary female workers are discussed because there is considerable concern as to their position in the labour market, given their rapidly increasing numbers.

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[1] While Canadian citizens are given priority over non-Canadians for employment opportunities in the Public Service of Canada, non-Canadians are not excluded from employment competitions.

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This paper concentrates on the labour market position of women who immigrated between 1961 and 1971, as captured in the most recent major Census of 1971. There is no attempt to define immigrants in a temporal sense other than that necessitated by data restrictions. The number of years immigrant women have been in Canada, and whether or not they have become Canadian citizens, have not been used to define immigrant women in this report mainly because there is so little data on women immigrants in general that to narrow the definition would be to unduly restrict any attempt to describe the economic situation of foreign born women in Canada.

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Note on Data Sources

The data used in this report are derived from several sources, including CEIC data, the Census of Canada for the years 1971 and 1976 and the monthly Labour Force Survey.

CEIC administrative data are used to describe employment authorizations, the labour force intentions of immigrants and to provide comparative information on immigrants and non-immigrants undertaking different types of training. These data are compiled regularly by the Commission/Department to facilitate the administration of its various programs and to provide statistical input to the policy making process. As used in this report, the data comprise a 100 per cent sample of the relevant variables.

Additional CEIC data outline some of the results of a longitudinal study of immigrants undertaken in 1976. This study involved a survey of some 5,600 immigrants, visaed to come to Canada in 1976 and landing in this country between January 1976 and March 1977. The survey was conducted by means of mail questionnaires, administered after the immigrants had been in Canada for six and twelve months, respectively. The study aimed at gauging the success of the social and economic adaptation of the sample, in terms of such variables as employment experience, earnings etc.[1]

Census data for the years 1971 and 1976, as used here, were collected on the basis of a 33 1/3 sample. In both years the labour force refers to the non-inmate population[2] fifteen years and over who, during the week prior to enumeration (June 1 in the case of each Census), were employed or unemployed and looking for work. While the basic "labour force" concept has not changed

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[1] For earlier work in this area see "Three Years in Canada: First Report of the Longitudinal Survey on the Economic and Social Adaptation of Immigrants". Canadian Immigration and Population Study, No. 4. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974.

[2] An "inmate" includes residents of mental institutions, homes for the aged, penitentiaries or other institutions.

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substantially since the 1951 Census, some additional questions in this area were introduced in the 1976 Census. Consequently, the labour force data of the 1976 Census are not directly comparable to those of previous censuses, except to indicate a general picture of trends over time.[1]

In the case of the 1971 Census, the occupational classification system is based on the Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations. This classification differs substantially from previous ones, and is the result of a complete revision of earlier classifications. Consequently, comparisons between 1971 and earlier censuses cannot be made on the basis of 1971 information.

Estimates of the Canadian labour force, employment, unemployment and non-labour force activity are provided by the Labour Force Survey, conducted monthly. Interviews are carried out in about 56,000 representative households across the country, and the sample has been designed to represent the population fifteen years of age and over residing in Canada, with certain exceptions.

Because of differences in coverage, methodology, reference period and questions asked, census data are not directly comparable with those of the Labour Force Survey.[2]

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[1] Further information on the comparability of data from the 1971 and 1976 Censuses is contained in the Introduction to Vol. 5 (Cat. No. (94-800), Census of Canada 1976.

[2] For a more detailed discussion of the differences between these two sources see the Introduction to Vol. 5 (Cat. No. 94-800), Census of Canada, 1976, and the Evaluation Report on the 1976 Census Labour Force Characteristics.

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A. TEMPORARY NON-IMMIGRANT WORKERS

On January 1, 1973, employment authorization regulations were introduced to protect the Canadian labour force against the unwarranted use of foreign labour, and to introduce an additional measure of control over the long-term visitor. The purposes of the employment authorization system are to preserve job opportunities for Canadians and landed immigrants and to provide a mechanism to allow the temporary employment of people the Canadian economy needs in jobs for which no Canadians or landed immigrants are available.

An employment authorization is issued via one of two routes, namely (1) by an immigration officer following validation by a Canada Employment Centre (CEC) of an associated offer of employment and (2) by an immigration officer without a CEC validation (by virtue of the applicant being exempt for any of a variety of reasons specified in general terms in the Immigration Regulations).

Apart from the specifically exempt categories, all persons, other than Canadian citizens and landed immigrants, who wish to work in Canada are required to have a validated employment authorization before they can legally accept jobs in Canada. Jobs must be arranged abroad - authorization are not issued to allow workers to enter Canada in search of employment.

Usually an employment authorization is valid only for the specific job and time period stipulated by the employer and noted on the authorization. It is not transferable from one employer to another or from one occupation to another.

An employment authorization is not a contract - the employee can resign or the employer can terminate the employment subject only to the customary arrangements concerning notice. In cases where the authorized job is terminated or extended, the worker must immediately contact the Canada Immigration Centre for approval of any further plans to work in Canada.

Workers are required to comply with all terms and conditions set out on their employment authorizations; otherwise they may be required to leave Canada.

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Wages and working conditions for temporary foreign workers must comply with legal standards in Canada where these apply and employers are responsible for arranging deductions from pay for public health, welfare and benefit programs.

The benefits of coming to work temporarily in Canada are that non-immigrants earn an income and gain employment opportunities which were not available in their homeland. Frequently the transportation and accommodation costs are paid for or subsidized by employers.

One of the major disadvantages of working temporarily in Canada is the requirement for non-immigrant workers to pay for a number of social services from which they find difficulty in deriving any benefits. As an example, it is often impracticable for non-immigrant workers upon returning to their own country to submit Canadian income tax returns and benefit from any refunds that may be due them. Furthermore, most temporary workers pay unemployment insurance premiums and they cannot collect benefits after their return to their homeland. Moreover, very few immigrants have a firm contract of employment, leaving the majority without any guarantee of job security.

Despite these drawbacks, the number of validated employment authorizations continues to grow. Over the last few years the numbers increased from approximately 25,000 in 1978 to about 35,000 in 1979 and just over 40,000 in 1980.

The majority of female temporary workers with validated employment authorizations admitted to Canada are employed in the service occupations. The domestic worker group, comprising mostly live-in domestics, maids and babysitters, accounts for a high proportion of total validated employment authorizations issued. In both 1979 and 1980 domestic worker authorizations accounted for approximately 25% of all validated authorizations issued.

As with most workers in Canada, domestic workers are in occupations that come within the exclusive jurisdiction of provincial governments insofar as labour standards and minimum wage levels are concerned. However, only four

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provinces (Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Quebec and Ontario) have legislated a minimum wage rate for domestics employed in private homes. In the other provinces these occupations are excluded from most of the legislation respecting employment standards.

Concern has been growing over the last few years about foreign household domestic workers. The crux of this problem appears to be low wages combined with unsatisfactory working conditions. Among foreign-born workers in Canada, live-in domestics are considered the most disadvantaged group of women in the labour market.

Domestic workers in Canada are generally remunerated well below the relevant provincial industrial minimum wage and are often required to work long hours with little time off. For these reasons, Canadian workers regard domestic jobs as being of inferior status and reject work in this sector regardless of labour market conditions. Canadian employers continue, therefore, to turn to foreign sources to fill this occupational need. Despite high levels of national unemployment, from 1973 onward foreign household domestics came to Canada in the following numbers under temporary employment authorizations: 1,722 (1974); 3,103 (1975); 5,657 (1976); 10,556 (1977); 9,455 (1978); 9,285 (1979); and 10,910 (1980).[1]

When the 1973 employment authorization system was launched, employers of domestics were able to establish salary and working conditions without government intervention. However, the government now requests employers to attest to their intentions of offering a minimum weekly wage for a specified number of working hours per week. Weekly time off and annual vacation allowance are also to be agreed to in advance.

In order to improve the conditions of foreign household service workers, the Canadian government now provides that their admission to Canada is governed by guidelines to assist employment officers to determine whether the wages and working conditions offered are sufficient to attract and retain

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[1] CEIC, Unpublished data.

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Canadian citizens or permanent residents. The government also offers counselling of temporary workers so that they will feel free to report abuses to CEIC with the knowledge that placement in another job in the same occupation, rather than deportation, would be the CEIC's first action.

While enforcement of conditions agreed to by employers is not possible where domestics are not covered by provincial minimum labour standards legislation, domestics can quit and approach Canada Employment Centres to obtain another job. Under these circumstances, employment authorizations may be amended to allow for exceptions to the general rule of the worker only having permission to undertake a specific job.

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B. PERMANENT IMMIGRANTS: PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR FORCE

One of the principal objectives of postwar immigration policy has been to meet the needs of the Canadian labour market. The contribution of immigration to labour supply has, of course, changed with fluctuations in the annual immigration movement, but has been declining since the early 1950s. Immigration as a contributor to labour force growth was higher, sometimes considerably, in the fifties and sixties than in the seventies.

TABLE 1

IMMIGRANTS DESTINED TO THE LABOUR FORCE: NUMBERS AND AS PROPORTION OF IMMIGRANTS 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1954-1979

Year	Immigrants Intending to Enter the Labour Force					
	Number			% of Imm. 15 years & over		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1954	64,720	19,656	84,376	96.2	36.5	69.7
1955	42,611	15,376	57,987	95.8	36.8	67.2
1956	68,377	22,662	91,039	96.8	39.1	70.8
1957	115,332	36,179	151,511	96.2	37.7	70.2
1958	43,397	19,681	63,078	94.3	38.9	65.3
1959	36,505	17,046	53,551	93.7	38.9	64.7
1960	37,109	16,464	53,573	94.2	39.2	65.8
1961	21,828	12,981	34,809	91.1	40.6	62.2
1962	23,742	13,006	36,748	91.0	40.6	63.3
1963	31,528	14,338	45,866	91.5	38.1	63.6
1964	38,394	17,796	56,190	91.8	40.8	65.8
1965	51,415	22,780	74,195	92.3	42.0	67.5
1966	69,738	29,472	99,210	93.0	41.9	68.3
1967	82,680	36,859	119,539	93.4	44.6	69.8
1968	65,781	29,665	95,446	90.7	41.8	66.5
1969	55,238	29,111	84,349	89.2	45.1	66.7
1970	51,923	25,800	77,723	89.2	44.2	66.7
1971	40,706	20,576	61,282	87.2	42.3	64.2
1972	39,895	19,537	59,432	86.7	40.4	63.0
1973	61,709	30,519	92,228	82.6	43.3	63.6
1974	70,564	35,519	106,083	84.8	43.7	64.5
1975	54,675	26,514	81,189	83.5	37.7	59.8
1976	40,965	20,496	61,461	77.4	35.1	55.2
1977	30,918	16,707	47,625	76.2	35.7	54.3
1978	22,148	13,092	35,240	73.8	36.1	53.2
1979	30,840	17,394	48,234	75.8	39.6	57.0

Source: Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels, 1981

The steep growth in the labour force in recent years has resulted from the upsurge in the numbers of women and youth entering the labour market. While this has tended to overshadow the growth in the labour force resulting from immigration, the relative decline in the latter is also attributable to smaller recent immigration, and to the smaller proportion of working-age immigrants destined to the labour force. The proportion of working-age immigrants

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intending to enter the labour market has been declining steadily, particularly among males, and has been below 60 per cent since 1974. Indeed, these proportions are now smaller than at any time since 1954. Although the decline started in the early 1950s, it has accelerated in recent years, so that by 1978 fewer than three quarters of all male immigrants over 15 years of age intended to work. Intended female participation, on the other hand, generally increased until 1974 (despite minor fluctuations) -- a trend which parallels that of females in the population generally. Since 1974, however, the trend has reversed, with the proportion of working-age immigrants intending to work dropping to levels experienced in the fifties.

An examination of the trends of intended participation by category of admission in Table 2 is equally revealing.

TABLE 2

IMMIGRANTS DESTINED TO THE LABOUR FORCE
BY CATEGORY OF ADMISSION
AS A PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS
15 YEARS AND OVER, BY CATEGORY,
1954-1979
(BOTH SEXES)

Year	Total		Family Class		Assisted Relative		Independent	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1954	84,376	69.7						
1955	57,987	67.2						
1956	91,039	70.8						
1957	151,511	70.2						
1958	63,078	65.3						
1959	53,551	64.7						
1960	53,573	65.8						
1961	34,809	62.2	12,661	47.2			22,148	76.0
1962	36,748	63.3	11,254	42.9			25,494	80.1
1963	45,866	63.6	12,059	39.5			33,807	81.3
1964	56,190	65.8	16,423	46.4			39,767	79.4
1965	74,195	67.5	20,063	46.9			54,132	80.6
1966	99,210	68.3	23,055	46.4			76,155	79.7
1967	119,539	69.8	26,222	47.0			93,317	83.8
1968	95,446	66.5	5,992	23.9	19,069	72.4	70,385	86.0
1969	84,349	66.7	6,584	28.1	21,924	72.9	55,841	79.9
1970	77,723	66.7	6,600	29.6	19,633	72.9	51,490	79.2
1971	61,282	64.2	7,499	32.6	16,853	74.6	36,930	77.3
1972	59,432	63.0	7,764	33.5	17,562	72.9	34,106	75.2
1973	92,228	63.6	8,959	31.3	24,152	70.2	59,117	73.4
1974	106,083	64.5	10,606	29.8	28,030	70.9	67,447	76.9
1975	81,189	59.8	14,762	32.9	24,321	71.6	42,106	74.4
1976	61,461	55.2	16,448	35.5	19,850	71.5	25,163	69.6
1977	47,625	54.3	15,547	37.4	15,372	74.6	16,706	67.8
1978	35,240	53.2	14,498	38.6	9,931	77.3	10,348	68.4
1979	48,234	57.0	15,380	39.4	6,238	75.7	12,969	69.1

Source: Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels, 1981.

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The declining proportion of immigrants intending to work is attributable mainly to the declining proportion of independent immigrants selected for their expected contribution to the labour force. On the other hand, the proportion destined to the labour force in the family class (selected for other than labour market reasons) increased substantially, while the corresponding proportion in the assisted relative class was fairly steady until 1976, but rose moderately in the latter 1970s.

Since only one spouse is assessed for landed immigrant status by the point system, the classification of entry status of most immigrant women, especially married women, as "dependents" leads to underestimation of the numbers who will enter the labour force. While this underestimation is later corrected by Census data and special labour force reports, the discrepancy between Census data and immigration data regarding the labour force participation rate of immigrant women is often attributed to immigrant women deciding to enter the labour force only after arrival in Canada. Even though this may be true in many cases, the categorization of most immigrant women as dependents no doubt accounts in large part for the discrepancy.

As is shown in Table 3, the actual labour force participation rates of immigrant women are much higher than those of native-born women with the exception of women 65 years and over. While native-born women had a participation rate of 39.8 per cent in 1971, women who immigrated between 1961 and 1971 had a participation rate of 52.1 per cent. Among those 25-34 years old, 42.7 per cent of native-born women were labour force participants compared to 54.7 per cent of women who immigrated to Canada between 1961 and 1971.

More recent data show a continuation of this situation. In 1976 women who immigrated to Canada within the 5 previous years had a participation rate of 54 per cent, much higher than that of 45 per cent for all women in Canada. The pattern of high participation rates observed for women immigrants in the 1961, 1971 and the 1976 Censuses may be attributed to the economic needs and aspirations of immigrant families. It should also be noted that immigrant men are observed to have higher rates of labour force participation compared to native-born males.

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TABLE 3

POPULATION 15 YEARS AND OVER, BY SEX AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, SHOWING NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE IN THE LABOUR FORCE, BY AGE GROUPS - CANADA, 1971

Area, Sex and Period of Immigration	All Ages		15 - 19		20 - 24		25 - 34		35 - 44		45 - 54		55 - 64		65 +	
	Labour Force	Part-Rate	Labour Force	Part-Rate	Labour Force	Part-Rate	Labour Force	Part-Rate	Labour Force	Part-Rate	Labour Force	Part-Rate	Labour Force	Part-Rate	Labour Force	Part-Rate
Males																
Total	5,760,245	76.3	500,910	46.5	816,010	86.5	1,355,925	92.5	1,194,705	92.8	1,023,715	90.3	884,280	80.0	184,700	23.6
Born Canada	4,601,400	76.3	460,640	46.2	707,680	86.3	1,088,695	92.0	912,485	91.8	798,445	89.1	519,130	78.8	114,330	23.5
Born Outside Canada	1,158,845	76.6	40,275	51.0	108,330	87.9	267,230	94.6	282,220	95.8	225,270	94.5	165,160	84.0	70,370	23.6
Immigrated 1961-71	348,020	87.6	17,655	50.0	52,430	88.3	156,995	94.5	78,605	95.3	28,605	33.0	11,300	80.9	2,430	26.3
Females																
Total	3,053,700	39.9	383,530	36.9	592,355	62.8	636,095	44.5	544,380	43.8	515,320	44.4	302,080	34.3	79,350	8.2
Born Canada	2,448,175	39.8	349,130	36.3	508,055	62.3	493,860	42.7	412,655	41.8	394,655	42.7	235,720	34.3	54,095	8.6
Born Outside Canada	604,925	40.2	34,400	45.2	84,305	65.8	142,235	51.9	131,725	51.4	120,660	50.8	66,345	34.5	25,255	7.4
Immigrated 1961-71	212,050	52.1	15,610	43.9	43,900	63.1	88,735	54.7	40,155	56.1	16,505	53.2	5,765	29.4	1,340	7.9

Source: 1971 Census of Canada: Labour Force Activity - Work Experience: Cat. 94-776, Vol. III - Part: 7 (Bulletin 37-6), May 1975.

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Unemployment

Immigrants who entered Canada between 1971 and 1976 had higher unemployment rates compared to the total labour force.

TABLE 4

1976 UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY AGE & SEX FOR THE TOTAL CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE AND IMMIGRANTS WHO ENTERED CANADA BETWEEN 1971-1976

Age	Total Canadian Labour Force			Immigrant Labour Force		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
15-24	12.6	12.4	12.9	12.0	11.0	13.0
25-44	5.3	4.5	6.6	7.1	5.8	9.3
45-64	4.2	3.7	5.0	7.4	6.4	9.1
65 +	1.8	1.8	1.7	5.0	6.2	3.0
Total	6.8	6.1	8.1	8.3	6.9	10.3

Source: 1976 Census of Canada Labour Force Activity
Catalogue 94-807 - (Bulletin 5.8)

As can be seen in Table 4, Canadian women and immigrant women suffer more from unemployment than Canadian and immigrant men. Women who recently immigrated had an unemployment rate of 10.3 per cent compared to 8.3 per cent for all recent immigrants and 8.1 per cent for all women in the labour force. This continues a pattern found in 1971 Census data.

The higher unemployment rates for immigrants who recently entered Canada may be due to their lack of labour market information, language barriers and difficulties related to recognition of qualifications. The economic slowdown of the 1970s with a shortage of job opportunities for all Canadians is likely to have presented an especially serious obstacle to new immigrants without much Canadian labour force experience.

Overrepresentation of women immigrants in certain low-wage service and manufacturing occupations may also be contributing to their high unemployment rates. For example, many women immigrants work in the garment industry, in occupations traditionally held by women, and this industry currently has high turnover rates and high unemployment. When women who work in this industry are

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unemployed they often have serious difficulty finding other employment due to a lack of skills, lack of facility in either of the official languages, and systemic discrimination.

As Table 5 shows, a national longitudinal study of recent immigrants who obtained their visas in 1976 found that women were unemployed for a greater period of time than men in their first six months in Canada. They also were unemployed longer than all men and women in the labour force in 1976.

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF WEEKS IMMIGRANTS WERE UNEMPLOYED AND LOOKING FOR WORK DURING FIRST SIX MONTHS IN CANADA, COMPARISON WITH 1976 CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE ANNUAL AVERAGES

Number of Weeks Unemployed	Men		Women	
	Immigrants	Labour Force	Immigrants	Labour Force
	%	%	%	%
1 - 4	42.5	31.2	30.0	32.3
5 or more	57.5	68.8	70.0	67.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1976 Longitudinal Study of Immigrants, CEIC, unpublished data. Canada: Statistics Canada. Cat. 72-529, Occasional, 1975-1978, Table 33.

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Jobs Occupied by Immigrant Women

Intended Occupation

Data on occupations of immigrants intending to enter the labour force can be used to examine the occupational differences between male and female immigrants.

TABLE 6

INTENDED OCCUPATION
BY SEX FOR IMMIGRANTS
TO CANADA, 1976

Intended Occupation	Male %	Female %
Entrepreneurs	5.2	.6
Managerial, Administrative & Related Occ.	8.8	1.8
Occ. in Natural Sciences, Engineering & Mathematics	14.3	2.6
Occ. in Social Sciences & Related Fields	1.2	2.4
Occupations in Religion	1.0	.1
Teaching & Related Occupations	2.4	5.4
Occ. in Medicine & Health	2.4	14.9
Artistic, Literary, Performing Arts & Rel.	1.7	1.9
Occ. in Sport & Recreation	.2	.1
Clerical & Related Occ.	6.5	32.5
Sales Occupations	4.7	4.4
Service Occupations	7.1	12.8
Farming, Horticultural & Animal-Husbandry	3.0	.5
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping & Related	(a)	-
Forestry & Logging Occ.	.1	-
Mining & Quarrying Incl. Oil & Gas Field	.2	-
Processing Occupations	2.5	1.0
Machining & Related Occ.	6.9	.2
Product Fabricating, Assembling & Repairing	16.3	10.6
Construction Trades Occ.	8.9	-
Transport Equipment Operating Occ.	1.3	-
Material-Handling & Related Occ., n.e.c.	.6	.4
Other Crafts & Equipment Operating Occ.	1.0	.4
Occupations Not Elsewehre Classified or Not Specified	3.7	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: 1976 Longitudinal Study of Immigrants, CEIC Unpublished data.

(a) Less than .1 per cent.

As can be seen in Table 6, immigrant women are likely to enter sex-segregated occupations such as those in the clerical and service areas.

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In the professional occupations the specific type of work intended was sex-typed as can be seen in Table 7.

TABLE 7

INTENDED PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATION
BY SEX FOR IMMIGRANTS
TO CANADA, 1976

Professional Occupation	Male	Female
	%	%
Engineers	12.3	2.5
Physical Scientists	4.0	.5
Biological	1.5	1.1
Teachers	7.5	18.6
Professors, principals	3.2	2.2
School teachers	2.6	11.2
Other	1.7	5.2
Health Professionals	7.4	50.4
Physicians	1.9	1.4
Dentists	1.0	1.4
Graduate Nurses	.5	18.1
Therapists	1.1	5.5
Pharmacists	.5	.8
Medical, dental technicians	1.2	7.1
Other	1.2	16.1
Law	.9	.5
Religion	3.1	.3
Artists, writers	5.3	6.6
Other	58.0	19.5
Architects	1.2	-
Draughtsmen	9.5	1.4
Surveyors	.4	-
Actuaries	.4	.3
Economists	.9	.3
Computer programmers	4.2	1.6
Auditors, accountants	4.3	1.6
Dietitians	-	.5
Social Workers	.6	1.4
Librarians	.4	2.2
Interior Decorator	.9	1.4
Photographer	.5	.3
Science technicians	11.3	1.4
Miscellaneous	23.4	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: 1976 Longitudinal Study of Immigrants, CEIC, unpublished data.

Within occupational categories, males are concentrated in the higher-paying and more prestigious positions. For example, most male immigrants in the health field are intending to become physicians whereas most female immigrants.

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are planning to be nurses. The overall occupational pattern of female immigrants tends to mirror that of native-born women.

Actual Occupation

The 1971 Census data shows a similar sex-typed occupational distribution for immigrants who entered Canada between 1961 and 1971.

TABLE 8

1971 OCCUPATIONS OF THE FOREIGN-BORN, IMMIGRATING TO CANADA BETWEEN 1961-1971 BY SEX

	Born Outside of Canada, Immigrated 1961-1971	
Occupation	Male	Female
Total, Actual N[(a)]	324,795	188,420
Managerial	4.1	1.3
Science and Engineering	8.7	1.6
Social Sciences	.9	1.1
Religion	.4	.1
Teaching	5.3	6.3
Medicine	3.1	11.1
Art, Literature, Recration	1.6	1.0
Clerical	6.1	27.6
Sales	6.7	5.3
Service	11.4	18.3
Farming, Fishing, Forestry Mining	3.1	1.5
Processing	5.5	3.2
Machining	8.5	1.1
Production	12.7	15.4
Construction	13.1	.3
Transport	2.3	.1
Materials Handling	2.1	2.6
Other Crafts	1.3	.6
Other, Unclassified	3.1	1.6

Source: Canada: Statistics Canada. 1975. 1971 Census of Canada: Occupation by Sex Showing Birthplace, Period of Immigration and Ethnic Group for Canada and Regions. Volume III-Part 3. Cat. 94-734, Bulletin 3.3-7, Table 4.

(a) Excludes occupations not stated. For persons immigrating between 1961-1971, 5.3 and 8.1 per cent of males and females, respectively, did not report occupations. Percents are computed from the sum of occupations, rather than from the reported N. Rounding procedures used by Statistics Canada cause minor deviations (5-20 persons range) of totals actually reported from the totals computed by adding occupational categories, the latter shown above.

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Overrepresentation of female immigrants in teaching, service, clerical, production, and medical occupations parallels the intended occupational distribution. Moreover, detailed analysis of occupational distribution by sex show the same sex-typing within occupation as was revealed in the intended occupational distribution.

TABLE 9

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION WITHIN SELECTED 1971 OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FOR FOREIGN BORN IMMIGRATING TO CANADA BETWEEN 1961-1971, BY SEX

	Born Outside of Canada, Immigrated 1961-1971	
Selected Occupational Categories	Male	Female
Teaching and Related Occupations, Actual N	17,070	11,885
University Teaching	42.0	10.6
Elementary and Secondary Teachers	43.4	75.3
Other Teaching and Related Occupations	14.7	14.1
Occupations in Medicine and Health, Actual N	10,200	20,980
Health Diagnosing (physicians, dentists, veternarians, etc.)	51.3	4.6
Nursing, Therapy	28.5	80.8
Other	20.2	14.5
Clerical and Related Occupations, Actual N	19,965	52,100
Stenographic, Typing	2.7	38.1
Bookkeeping, Accounting	26.1	26.3
Office Machine, Electronic Data Processing	5.0	7.3
Material Recording, Scheduling and Distributing	31.9	3.6
Library, Filing, Correspondence	3.2	4.8
Receptionists and Information, Mail and Message Distribution	7.2	6.9
Service Occupations, Actual N	37,110	34,425
Protective Service	8.2	.5
Food and Beverage Preparators	39.3	26.5
Lodging and Accomodation	3.4	9.6
Personal Service	9.0	25.2
Apparel and Furnishing (Laundry, Pressing, etc.)	3.7	8.4
Other	36.4	29.5

Source: Canada: Statistics Canada. 1975. 1971 Census of Canada: Occupation by Sex Showing Birthplace, Period of Immigration and Ethnic Group for Canada and Regions. Volume III-Part 3. Cat. 94-734, Bulletin, 3.3-7, Table 4.

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Within the clerical category women are concentrated in the stenographic and typing jobs; in occupations in medicine and health the vast majority of immigrant women are performing nursing functions; and in teaching, most women are elementary and secondary school teachers. As can be seen in Table 8, men are much more likely than women to be university teachers, physicians, and involved with recording, scheduling and distribution of materials.

Women immigrants appear to be concentrated both at the top and the bottom of the occupational scales. A high proportion are found in white collar occupations and another large group are found in service and production occupations.

Immigrant women are overrepresented in production occupations and this is mainly attributable to their overrepresentation in the garment and needle trades industries. Job ghettos in the garment industry persist because of the lack of other skills by women in these occupations combined with their lack of facility in either of the official languages. Employers, for their part, in many cases provide few, if any, opportunities for upgrading the job skills of their workers.

Comparing the 1971 occupational distribution of immigrant women and native-born women in Table 10 reveals most clearly the double disadvantage of female immigrants in the labour force.

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TABLE 10

1971 OCCUPATIONS OF NATIVE BORN AND FOREIGN BORN FEMALE RESIDENTS IN CANADA

Occupations	Native Born	Foreign Born
Total, Actual N[(a)]	2,102,395	539,545
Managerial	2.3	1.9
Science and Engineering	.5	1.1
Social Sciences	1.1	1.1
Religion	.2	.1
Teaching	8.6	5.4
Medicine	9.4	8.5
Art, Literature, Recreation	.8	1.0
Clerical	37.1	29.8
Sales	9.6	8.7
Service	16.3	19.6
Farming, Fishing, Forestry	4.3	3.4
Mining	2.1	2.9
Processing	.4	.8
Machining	4.2	11.3
Production	.2	.3
Construction	.3	.2
Transport	1.4	2.2
Materials Handling	.5	.6
Other Crafts	.7	1.2
Other, Unclassified		

Source: Canada: Statistics Canada. 1975. 1971 Census of Canada: Occupation by Sex Showing Birthplace, Period of Immigration and Ethnic Group for Canada and Region. Volume III-Part 3. Cat. 94-734, Bulletin 3.3-7, Table 4.

(a) Excludes occupation not stated. The proportion not stating occupation was 11.3 and 8.7 per cent for native born and foreign born females respectively. Percent are computed from the sum of occupations, rather than from the reported N.

While female immigrants, like native-born women, are concentrated in women's traditional occupations with their lower status and lower remuneration, immigrant women are overrepresented in service, production and materials handling occupations and underrepresented in the white collar and professional occupations. Thus, even in comparison to native-born females, who are considered to be disadvantaged in the labour force, immigrant women predominate in the lowest status and least economically rewarding occupations. The term "doubly disadvantaged" is frequently used to describe the position of immigrant women in the labour force who are concentrated in lower status occupations compared to both immigrant men and native-born women.

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Data from the 1976 Longitudinal Study of Immigrants compared to labour force data for all Canadian also reveals the "doubly disadvantaged" position of immigrant women.

As can be seen in Table 11 immigrant women in 1977 were much more likely than Canadian women to be concentrated in sales, processing occupations, and product fabricating jobs, and less likely to be in managerial and professional occupations. Comparing immigrant women to immigrant men highlights the sex-segregation of occupations in the Canadian labour market.

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED OCCUPATIONS
12 MONTHS AFTER IMMIGRANTS' ARRIVAL IN CANADA
AND COMPARISONS WITH THE CORRESPONDING
DISTRIBUTION OF THE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE, ANNUAL AVERAGES, 1977

2 - digit CCDO Occupation Code		Immigrant Men	Immigrant Women	Canadian Labour Force Men	Canadian Labour Force Women
11	Managerial & Admin.	82.2%	17.8%	78.2%	21.8%
21	Occup. in Nat. Sciences	91.6%	8.4%	89.4%	10.6%
27	Teaching & Related Occ.	40.6%	59.4%	44.0%	56.0%
31	Occ. in Medicine & Health	28.7%	71.3%	24.1%	75.9%
41	Clerical & Related Occ.	21.9%	78.1%	24.4%	75.6%
51	Sales Occupations	53.3%	46.7%	64.6%	35.4%
61	Service Occupations	51.2%	48.8%	48.8%	51.2%
81/82	Processing Occupations	75.6%	24.4%	83.2%	16.8%
83	Machining & Related Occ.	91.1%	8.9%	93.8%	6.2%
85	Product Fabricating	63.0%	37.0%	77.9%	22.1%
87	Construction Trades	98.8%	1.2%	98.8%	1.2%
Sub-Total		55.8%	44.2%	58.5%	41.5%
All Occupations (Total Labour Force)		57.9%	42.1%	62.5%	37.5%

Source: 1976 Longitudinal Study of Immigrants, CEIC, unpublished data. Canada: Statistics Canada. Cat. 72-529, Occasional, 1975-1978, Table 17.

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Earnings

Earnings, as well as occupation, reveal a great deal about the relative status of a group within the economy. Census data on earnings reinforce the overall position of immigrant women as the most disadvantaged group in the labour force, compared to immigrant men, native-born women and all income earners.

Between 1961 and 1971 post-war immigrants made significant gains in earnings and their position relative to their native counterparts reversed for most age groups.

TABLE 12

MEDIAN TOTAL EARNINGS[1] FOR 1946-60 POST-WAR IMMIGRANT AND NATIVE-BORN COHORTS IN THE CURRENT EXPERIENCED LABOUR FORCE, BY SEX AND AGE, CANADA, 1961 AND 1971

Age in 1961	1946-60 PWIs 1961	1946-60 PWIs 1971	1961-71 percentage increase in median earnings	Native-born 1961	Native-born 1971	1961-71 percentage increase in median earnings	Age in 1971
			Males				
15-24	2,413	7,817	224.0	2,083	7,361	254.3	25-34
25-34	3,795	8,412	121.7	4,064	8,168	101.0	35-44
35-44	4,183	8,171	95.3	4,470	7,832	75.2	45-54
45-54	3,747	6,843	82.6	4,236	6,931	63.6	55-64
55-64	3,277	5,076	54.9	3,711	4,330	16.7	65-74
65+	2,669	4,588	71.9	2,785	3,500	25.7	75+
Total	3,867	7,952	105.7	3,770	7,555	100.0	25+
			Females				
15-24	1,699	3,981	134.3	1,676	4,167	148.6	25-34
25-34	2,041	3,616	77.2	2,343	3,575	52.6	35-44
35-44	1,972	3,744	89.9	2,120	3,662	72.7	45-54
45-54	1,887	3,560	88.7	2,166	3,676	69.7	55-64
55-64	1,632	3,094	89.6	2,087	2,791	33.7	65-74
65+	1,281	2,597	102.7	1,426	2,381	67.0	75+
Total	1,893	3,708	95.9	1,990	3,768	88.8	25+

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data, in "Factors in the Adjustment of Immigrants and their Descendants". A.H. Richmond and W.E. Kalbach. Statistics Canada, 1980.

[1] Wages and salaries only.

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In the case of women for two age cohorts, those 25-34 and 55-64 years of age in 1971, earnings of the native-born remained above earnings of post-war immigrants and thus the overall average earnings for post-war immigrant women was slightly lower than that of native-born women.

In 1971 median total earnings by sex and immigrant status reveals a ranking from top to bottom of immigrant men, native-born men, native-born women, and lowest, immigrant women. The earnings distributions are related to occupations and reflect the concentration of immigrant women in low-paying jobs. The male immigrant to female immigrant earnings ratio of 2.2:1 compares to the native-born male to native-born female ratio of 2:1. Both reveal however the generally lower levels of earnings of women in the Canadian labour force.

A survey of immigrants twelve months after their arrival in Canada in 1976 reveals a similar pattern of sex-differentiated earnings.

TABLE 13

GROSS MONTHLY EARNINGS FROM IMMIGRANTS' CURRENT OR MOST RECENT JOB, AFTER 12 MONTHS IN CANADA.

Earnings Category	Men %	Women %	All Immigrants %
Less than $500	11.0	36.1	21.5
$501 - $750	19.7	33.1	25.4
$751 - $1,000	24.5	13.0	19.7
$1,000 +	39.1	7.0	25.6
Non-Response	5.7	10.8	7.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: 1976 Longitudinal Study of Immigrants, CEIC, unpublished data.

While fewer than one-third of the men in the sample earned less than $750 a month, over two-thirds of immigrant women were in the lowest earnings categories. Only 7% of the women compared to 39% of the men earned $1,000 or more on a monthly basis.

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Education

The "doubly disadvantaged" concept as it applies to immigrant women in the Canadian labour force raises, among others, the question of whether immigrant women are characterized by a lower stock of human capital resources, such as education, which operates to their disadvantage in occupational status attainment.

Table 14 shows that immigrant women who entered Canada between 1961 and 1971 were better educated than native-born women and native-born men.

The concentration of immigrant women in the professions would appear to be associated with their overrepresentation in the university-educated ranks. However, their concentration at the lower end of the occupational scale does not appear to have its origins in overrepresentation in the lowest categories of educational attainment. Overall, the educational achievement of immigrant women would not by itself tend to adversely affect their occupational standing.

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TABLE 14

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY SEX FOR TOTAL CANADIAN POPULATION 15 YEARS AND OVER, NATIVE-BORN POPULATION AND IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA BETWEEN 1961-1971

	TOTAL POPULATION			CANADIAN BORN POPULATION			IMMIGRANT POPULATION 1961-71		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
N =	7,540,465	7,649,035	15,189,500	6,029,255	6,147,365	12,176,600	397,075	406,625	803,700
Level of Schooling	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Elementary	31.5	31.0	31.2	30.9	29.0	30.0	23.5	31.6	27.6
Secondary	38.2	44.7	41.5	41.0	47.0	44.0	25.0	32.5	28.8
Post-Secondary Non-University	17.1	15.9	16.5	15.8	15.9	15.8	25.0	19.7	22.3
Some University	6.7	5.5	6.1	6.4	5.4	5.9	10.6	8.5	9.6
First Professional Degree	1.7	0.6	1.2	1.6	0.6	1.1	3.0	1.1	2.0
Bachelor Degree	3.1	1.9	2.5	3.0	1.8	2.4	6.3	4.7	5.5
Masters or Doctorate	1.7	0.4	1.0	1.3	0.3	0.8	6.6	1.9	4.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Canada 1971, unpublished data.

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C. ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN INTO THE LABOUR MARKET

Women immigrants come from many different countries and from diverse educational, social and economic backgrounds. They are employed in many different occupations and many different geographical and social settings throughout the country. Therefore, their problems related to the labour force cannot easily be categorized.

Immigrant women share many handicaps with immigrant men and face some of the same obstacles as Canadian women. However, because they are both immigrants and women their handicaps are doubled and their difficulties in integration are intensified. Severe labour market adjustment difficulties of immigrant women are most frequently related to systemic discrimination, problems of language acquisition, professionalism, and employer-created barriers.

Language acquisition is considered a key factor in the successful adaptation and integration of immigrant women in Canada. Women who have immigrated to Canada and who do not possess on arrival or subsequently acquire a reasonable facility with one of the official languages may become seriously disadvantaged members of Canadian society. Such women may suffer disproportionately from the entire range of negative economic factors associated with unemployment, underemployment, job ghettoization and labour market exploitation. Their reduced ability to access information and services in such areas as human rights, fair employment practices, health, social welfare and consumerism prevents them from enjoying the full benefits of their new society and from making their maximum contribution to it.

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TABLE 15

IMMIGRANTS' ABILITY WITH OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
AFTER 12 MONTHS IN CANADA

Language Ability	Men		Women		All Immigrants	
	English	French	English	French	English	French
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Good to Excellent	68.5	9.5	58.7	6.7	63.4	8.1
Poor to Fair	28.8	31.8	31.7	27.6	30.3	29.5
No Ability	2.7	58.7	9.6	65.7	6.3	62.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1976 Longitudinal Study of Immigrants, CEIC, unpublished data.

Canadian immigrant women are less successful in acquiring official language skills than their male counterparts. A longitudinal study of immigrants who arrived in 1976 was carried out by CEIC twelve month after the arrival of immigrants in Canada. The newcomers were asked to indicate the degree of their fluency in Canada's official languages. Table 15 shows that women rated themselves as less proficient than the men twelve months after their arrival in Canada.

Women can avail themselves of language training provided under two federal government programs in Canada. Each program requires active provincial government involvement and is outlined below.

(1) Canada Manpower Training Program

Up to one year full-time English and French language training can be provided for recently arrived permanent residents destined to the work force where an inadequate knowledge of one of the official languages would deter entry into their trade or profession. In practice, the length of training varies with a maximum of 24 weeks presently being provided. In 1979/80, 10,000 immigrants undertook language training.

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(2) Language Training for Citizenship

The 1977 Citizenship Act, administered by the federal Department of the Secretary of State, requires that applicants have an adequate knowledge of one of the official languages of Canada. To enable immigrants to obtain this knowledge, the Secretary of State has entered into agreements with the provincial governments to provide the necessary training to adult immigrants.

For a number of reasons, many immigrant women are prevented from receiving formal instruction offered in one of the official languages. Under the Canada Manpower Training Program, instruction is not available to individuals not destined to the labour market, who are seeking employment in the longer-term, who do not possess an occupational skill (unskilled), or whose lack of fluency in one of the official languages is not preventing them from securing employment in their usual occupation. The majority of these ineligible individuals are women. Furthermore, immigrants who have been admitted to Canada under the family class, assisted relative or sponsored refugee provisions of the Immigration Act are not eligible for income maintenance allowances while they are undergoing such instruction.

Since many women enter Canada under categories which are excluded from training, they are forced to seek low paying work in garment and textile factories, hospital and other institutional kitchens and laundries and cleaning companies which contract for office buildings and other institutions where official language skills are not required. As there is almost no opportunity to learn one of the official languages in these occupations, the women are unable to move into more rewarding work.

While free or inexpensive language classes are available in Canada's major cities women who work long hours in manual labour and in addition carry out home and family chores, are often too tired and/or busy to attend evening language classes. Another deterrent may be the cost of child-care services to attend courses.

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There are still other reasons why immigrant women may not seek out language training. Some women, especially those who are isolated, are unaware of instruction programs available to them. Others may come from cultures where little value is placed on formal education of women. Often transportation to language classes is not readily accessible. Women with special needs, such as professionals who want to upgrade their qualifications and the illiterate, are unable to find programs tailored to their requirements.

Professional women immigrants, even those who speak English and/or French, may also encounter problems in integration into the labour market. Generally these problems center on getting professional qualifications recognized in Canada and on a lack of Canadian experience, both problems as well for immigrant men.

Whether the professional women's qualifications are accepted or not depends to a large extent on whether the standards of the educational institutions in which she received her training are approved by the Canadian professional association. Licenses and certificates are issued by the provincial governments, but control of certification usually rests solely with the professional association.

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In a number of countries from where women emigrate, they have been employed in relatively new professions such as social work and child care without any formal training and they feel their experience should be accepted in the place of a degree or certificate. However, this is not possible in Canada.

For many women, however, the biggest hurdles to labour market integration are those imposed by employers' hiring criteria. Candian experience is often demanded by employers for those jobs with a skill component. Often professional or semi-professional immigrants of both sexes are forced to accept lower level positions, classified as semi-skilled or unskilled in order to gain Canadian experience. The loss of status along with a lower salary is a serious setback to many women who expected to easily achieve a position in the Canadian labour force similar to that which they held in their homeland.

Integration into the labour market is a most difficult process for immigrants, even under the most favourable of circumstances, because of the many required adjustments to Canadian society in general and to Canadian economic life in particular. For immigrant women, integration into the labour market is made more difficult by their lower levels of official language proficiencies, their concentration of skills and experience in traditional womens' occupations, and other aspects of systemic discrimination against women which have not yet been fully eradicated from the Canadian labour market.

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D. SERVICES TO IMMIGRANT

Governmental and Private Sector Roles

At the federal government level the responsibilities for provision of services to immigrants is divided between the CEIC and the Department of the Secretary of State. The former assumes responsibility for all aspects of immigrant settlement during the first three years after arrival including counselling abroad and at arrival, reception, accommodation, employment and other services required on entry to Canada. The latter directs its activities at ensuring a hospitable environment for newcomers through programs that promote integration of the immigrant community within the broader society. Generally speaking, CEIC responds to the individual needs of immigrants at initial settlement and Secretary of State concerns itself with longer term needs of immigrant groups, assisting their adaptation to the Canadian way of life.

The responsibility for delivery of social services rests primarily with the provincial governments in Canada, giving the provinces a major role in assisting immigrants who settle within their jurisdictions. Health, education, and welfare services are provided by provincial governments. The provinces of Quebec and Ontario, two of the major immigrant reception jurisdictions, become involved with immigrants to their provinces early on in the process. Both provinces maintain some offices abroad to provide counselling and information services and have reception and post-reception programs for immigrants. Quebec participates in selection services as well. Formal agreements with six provinces provide for federal and provincial government collaboration to ensure successful settlement of newly arrived immigrants.

While the public sector is the major provider of immigrant services the private and voluntary sectors play a most important role in helping immigrants to settle into Canada and to become part of the larger society. Voluntary organizations act as catalysts, helping the newcomer to more effectively interact with community services and programs. Moreover because of ethnic, religious and cultural affiliations of these organizations newcomers often trust them to resolve problems and interpret their needs to the

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authorities. Because of community links these voluntary agencies can ensure that the environment into which the immigrant is received is positive and understanding of the newcomer.

Many voluntary organizations receive federal government grants to help them carry out their programs. Others are given contracts by CEIC to provide direct settlement services to immigrants.

Services

While services to immigrants emcompass all areas of adjustment only those focussing on labour market adjustment will be listed.

(1) Services Abroad and On Arrival

- Overseas Counselling

Selection officers abroad offer counselling and information concerning employment opportunities in Canada.

- Reception Services

On arrival, immigrants are given information on employment and training.

Over the years it has been found that many immigrants arrive unprepared for difficulties they may have in finding employment. Information given by government officials abroad may not always be complete enough or current enough to ensure realistic expectations by immigrants. The problems for most women may be particularly acute in that many get little labour market information, if any, because of their status as dependents.

(2) Financial and Employment Services

- Canada Employment Centre Services

In the major urban centres of Canada special immigration reception facilities provide immigrants with information about entering the Canadian labour force. Multilingual counsellors discuss wage rates, union membership, language training and other issues which affect successful integration into the labour force. In smaller centres counselling is provided by specially trained staff who help with initial employment placements. Immigrants then avail themselves of the usual CEC services.

- Adjustment Assistance Program

This program provides financial assistance to indigent, newly-arrived, permanent residents until their income is sufficient to meet their basic needs. The amount of assistance is intended to cover basic human needs, such as food, accommodation and clothing and basic needs of life, such as furniture. Needs related to obtaining employment, such as tools, may also be provided for, on a recoverable (loan) basis.

The Adjustment Assistance budget for 1980-81 is $24,287,000.

- Mobility Grants

After one year in Canada, immigrants, like all Canadians, are entitled to transportation assistance within Canada to help them resolve labour market problems. This program is designed for unemployed or underemployed individuals who have limited employment opportunities in their community of residence.

- Occupational Training Programs

Immigrant workers, like all Canadians, are eligible for occupational training courses and allowances, should upgrading or acquisition of new skills be required to compete in the labour market. CEIC pays the entire cost of the

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training and allowances however the provinces have assumed administrative responsibility for these programs. Industrial training is also available to immigrants, the federal portion of the costs being designed as an incentive to employers to hire and train unemployed persons.

- Language Training Programs

Immigrants whose inability to communicate in an official language is a barrier to employment are eligible for full-time language training and allowances subject to the following criteria:

- If immigrants can be placed in their own occupation (even if not at the working level of income they received in their own country), they are so placed and can take any desired language training on a part-time basis.

- If immigrants cannot be placed in their own occupation because of low demand for that occupation, but can be placed in a related occupation which is appropriate to their education, training and experience, they are placed in employment and can take language training on a part-time basis.

- If immigrants cannot be placed in their own or a related occupation because of a language deficiency and any other placement would create a hardship or adversely affect their social attitude and assimilation, they are referred to full-time language training.

- Prior to referral to training, the Manpower counsellor must satisfy himself that language deficiency is really the cause of inability to obtain employment. In many cases, this may involve contacting prospective employers.

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- Immigrant workers are tested before language training begins, to ensure instruction at the appropriate level; and training continues only until they can be satisfactorily placed in employment.

Tables 16 and 17 show the number and distribution of immigrants enrolled in institutional training in 1979-80. It can be seen that, compared to men women are less likely to be enrolled in language training and slightly more likely to be engaged in skill training or basic training skill development.

TABLE 16

ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TRAINING ENTRANTS, BY TYPE OF TRAINING, IMMIGRANTS AND NON-IMMIGRANTS, BOTH SEXES, CANADA, 1979-80[1]

	Immigrants		Non-Immigrants		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Skill	5,310	30.1	61,981	41.3	67,291	40.1
Language	10,133	57.4	678	0.5	10,811	6.5
Basic Training Skill Development	1,792	10.2	26,004	17.3	27,796	16.6
Job Readiness	170	1.0	6,307	4.2	6,477	3.9
Work Adjustment	80	0.4	989	0.7	1,069	0.6
Apprentice	167	0.9	54,055	36.0	54,222	32.3
TOTAL	17,652	100.0	150,014	100.1	167,666	100.1
Not Stated	19		206		277	
GRAND TOTAL	17,671		150,222		167,893	

Source: CEIC data

[1] Institutional training only.

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TABLE 17

ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT TRAINING ENTRANTS, BY TYPE OF TRAINING AND SEX, CANADA, 1979-80[1]

	Male		Female		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Skill	2,484	27.1	2,826	33.3	5,310	30.1
Language	5,697	62.2	4,436	52.3	10,133	57.4
Basic Training for Skill Development	741	8.1	1,051	12.4	1,792	10.2
Job Readiness	48	0.5	122	1.4	170	1.0
Work Adjustment	38	0.4	42	0.5	80	0.4
Apprentice	158	1.7	9	0.1	167	0.9
TOTAL	9,166	100.0	8,486	100.0	17,652	100.0
Not Stated	12		7		19	
GRAND TOTAL	9,178		8,493		17,671	

Source: CEIC data

1 Institutional training only.

Despite all the services to ease immigrants' initial employment problems a significantly higher percentage of immigrants, particularly women immigrants, compared to the Canadian-born, suffer from unemployment during their first few years in Canada. Most studies of immigrant adjustment conclude that immigrants have more problems with employment and income security than with any other areas of Canadian living. Further, immigrants often complain that employers exploit their lack of Canadian experience by paying them low wages. Additionally, as has been discussed earlier in this paper, immigrants find that their professional or trade qualifications have not been recognized, either by employers or by licensing authorities.

In many cases some of these problems arise because immigrants do not avail themselves, either abroad or on arrival in Canada, of information which is meant to assist their integration into the labour market. Women, often placed in the dependent role, are probably less likely to seek out the authorities for employment assistance and are thus in a more vulnerable position concerning their labour market rights.

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(3) Other Services

- Language and Citizenship Classes

Training in the official languages is available to all adult immigrants through cost-shared arrangements between the federal and provincial governments. Courses are available in night-school programs as well as part-time during the day.

As was discussed earlier in this paper night language courses may not be heavily utilized by immigrant women who have long working days followed by household responsibilities. As well, while courses are readily available in the larger cities, they are less so in smaller communities.

- Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program

Under this program, voluntary organizations at the community level are contracted by the CEIC to provide direct settlement services to immigrants who have arrived in Canada within the previous three years. Services include reception, information, referral, translation, interpretation, orientation and counselling.

The Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program budget for 1980-81 is $3,424,000. Some 90 voluntary organizations are currently under contract.

- Other Voluntary Sector Services

Employment counselling and assistance are provided by voluntary agencies across the country. Immigrant women are often the target of these programs because of their lower level of contacts with the official government agencies due to a lack of knowledge and feelings of discomfort with the bureaucracy. Many of these agencies are funded, or partially funded, through CEIC's "Outreach Program". However, many small community agencies are often short lived projects due to lack of on-going financial support.

Overall, a number of shortcomings have been identified in the area of services currently available to immigrants. The most important seems to be the "information gap" - the difficulties immigrants have in learning about and utilizing available services. This is a particular problem for women who are often officially categorized as dependents instead of persons destined to the labour force and who may have special needs in effectively entering the labour market. Another problem is that official language skills of women are lower than immigrant men. Immigrant women often have greater family responsibility as well as labour market roles, leaving them less free hours to avail themselves of necessary services. Additionally, there is the problem of the uneven range and quality of services across the country. Women, who tend to rely more on the voluntary sector for their services, may be particularly adversely affected by the lack of such agencies in smaller rural areas of the country. Even in the major immigrant-receiving areas there is a shortage of general counselling services.

The shortage of services for those immigrants not immediately destined to the labour market may create longer-term problems. Lack of language skills continue to handicap women who wish to enter the labour market but who are not eligible for training.

The provision of comprehensive and effective labour market services to immigrants is a most challenging task faced by the public and private sectors. The federal government has the responsibility of ensuring the delivery of a satisfactory level of immigrant services through the resources of governments, social agencies and community groups. Continuous consultation between all service providers is necessary if immigrants are to successfully integrate into the economic system in Canada.

E. ISSUES AND POLICY RESPONSES RELATED TO IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET

Previous sections of this paper have analyzed the position of immigrant women in the labour force. Immigrant women's employment has been concentrated at the lower end of the occupation spectrum, lower than that of all working women in Canada. Associated with overrepresentation in the lower status occupations has been the significantly lower earnings of immigrant women as compared to immigrant men and to native-born women. Immigrant status combined with being female have led to the description of immigrant women as a "doubly disadvantaged" group.

At the present time, however, there are developments taking place in Canada which will mitigate the situation for immigrant women in the labour force. The most important factor is the general awareness and acceptance in Canada of the necessity of bringing women into the mainstream of economic life, and the commitment by government to assist in this process. Alongside measures to improve the situation for women in general, there is the recognition that immigrant women need special measures which will help them to overcome the particular obstacles they face.

Government Measures for All Women

The issues relating to women's employment involve all three levels of government; federal, provincial and municipal. The Federal Government's response to women's concerns has been manifest in Canada for well over a decade. In 1954, the Women's Bureau was created within Labour Canada to monitor women's progress in the labour force and to recommend changes to legislation. In 1967 the government sought to confront the difficulties faced by women by establishing a Royal Commission on the Status of Women. Since 1971, Canada has had both a federal Minister Responsible for the Status of Women, and Status of Women Canada - a government agency designated to monitor all federal programs and policies related to women. In 1973 the Advisory Council on the Status of Women was established as an independent body to ensure the implementation of the recommendations of the Royal Commission and to advise the federal government on

on policy and legislative change. The present government elected in 1980 has pledged itself to give high priority to status of women concerns and programs towards equality for women in all facets of Canadian life can continue to be expected.

Early in 1979 the Government adopted and published a Plan of Action on the Status of Women. This was designed in part to be Canada's response to the United Nations World Plan of Action adopted as part of the U.N.'s 1975-1985 "Decade for Women" and a major section of the Plan of Action deals with Employment and Economic Development.

Government Measures for Immigrant Women

The federal and provincial levels of government share the responsility for the provision of settlement services to recently arrived, permanent residents in Canada and as of the beginning of 1981 the Government of Canada has formally entered into immigration agreements with six provincial governments. These agreements elaborate some of the consultation mechanisms identified in the 1976 Immigration Act and several of the agreements include a paragraph "to jointly determine and collaborate on arrangements to ensure the successful settlement and integration of newly arrived immigrants" in the respective provinces. CEIC is committed to establishing such agreements with all provinces with a view to including specific and elaborated provision for settlement services. Matters of dealing with special immigrant groups, i.e., women, could be included in these agreements.

Under the British North America Act the provinces are provided exclusive jurisdiction in regard to education, municipal institutions, hospitals, charities, property and civil rights, the administration of justice in the province and all matters of a merely local or private nature. In virtually all provinces, therefore, many of the settlement services provided for the adaptation and integration of immigrants fall within provincial mandate. Most provinces have established specific organizational structures for policy and program development and operation in this area.

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In addition to the federal and provincial governments, municipal governments as well as a large number of voluntary agencies provide extensive settlement services to recently arrived permanent residents in Canada.

The federal government recognizes that improved access for immigrant women to language training courses is required if immigrant women are to be able to compete effectively in the labour market, as well as being able to participate fully in the social aspects of Canadian life.

CEIC is undertaking a comprehensive review of language training policy in order to develop an integrated language training program available to all immigrants on demand. The main objective will be integration into Canadian society; labour force attachment or citizenship certification would be ancillary objectives. The use of flexible delivery systems and flexible curricula will be examined to ensure responsiveness to the diverse needs of immigrant women as well as immigrant men.

An extensive review of settlement policy is being carried out by CEIC and Secretary of State to provide new directions in settlement policy. Both the provinces and the major non-governmental organizations interested in settlement programs will be involved in this review.

Another area of government concern is the accuracy and timeliness of occupational information given to immigrant women in the professions and trades. It is recognized that better coordination is required between trades and professional associations and immigration officials in order to keep up with latest requirements as to qualifications exams, provincial standards, probation, dues, wage scales, necessity for Canadian training, education and experience. Steps are being taken to improve the quality of information made available to professional immigrant women in the professions and trades before their arrival in Canada.

As well as measures for permanent residents, CEIC is implementing several measures to improve the conditions of domestic workers in Canada on employment authorizations. Immigration officers will ensure that both prospective domestic workers and their employers sign a contract with specific conditions and terms of employment. Any abuse of conditions of employment by employers will be taken into account in dealing with their future applications for foreign domestic workers. Domestic workers who lose jobs through no fault of their own will be given the opportunity to seek further employment as domestics while in Canada and would have Canada Employment Centre placement services made available to them.

Since there is an unfulfilled demand in Canada for trained and experienced domestic workers, this will be taken into consideration when independent applicants are assessed for immigration to Canada on a permanent basis.

Conclusion

Immigrant women generally have not fared as well as immigrant men or native-born women in the labour market. Their unemployment rates are higher and their average earnings are lower despite their higher participation rates. Most of the differences come from sex-typed occupational structures in the labour force and generally negative ascriptions of status due to being foreign-born. Some differences can be attributed to "information gap" problems and inability to function in one of the official languages, both particular problems of immigrant women.

In Canada increased participation of women in the labour force has led to changes in existing legislation and creation of new legislation to provide equal opportunity and pay and to prohibit discrimination on the grounds of sex and marital status. Recently increased awareness of the problems of "doubly disadvantaged" immigrant women has led to policy and program reviews of immigrant settlement services by both the federal and provincial governments. As a result new initiatives are underway to provide improved access to labour market information and language training along with improvements in labour legislation to better cover permanent immigrants and temporary workers.

The commitment of the Canadian government to ensure women an equal place in the economic development of Canada will help to alleviate many obstacles facing immigrant women in the labour market.

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